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The History of Ancient Egypt

Professor Bob Brier
Long Island University

Part II



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The History of Ancient Egypt, Part II

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Bob Brier was born in the Bronx, where he still lives. He received his bachelor's degree from Hunter College and Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1970.

From 1981–1996 he was Chairman of the Philosophy Department at C.W. Post campus of Long Island University and now primarily teaches Egyptology courses. He was Director of the National Endowment for the Humanities' Egyptology Today Program and has twice been selected as a Fulbright Scholar. He is also the recipient of the David Newton Award for Teaching Excellence.

In 1994, Dr. Brier became the first person in 2,000 years to mummify a human cadaver in the ancient Egyptian style. This research was the subject of a National Geographic television special, *Mr. Mummy*. Dr. Brier is also the host of The Learning Channel's series *The Great Egyptians*.

Professor Brier is the author of *Ancient Egyptian Magic* (Morrow: 1980), *Egyptian Mummies* (Morrow: 1994), *Encyclopedia of Mummies* (Facts on File: 1998), *The Murder of Tutankhamen: A True Story* (Putnam's: 1998), *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt* (Greenwood: 1999), and numerous scholarly articles.

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The History of Ancient Egypt

Scope:

There is something about ancient Egypt that fascinates almost everyone. Egyptian exhibits at museums draw the largest crowds, mummy movies pull in the largest audiences, and Egypt attracts the most tourists. Part of the attraction is undoubtedly the exotic nature of the beast. Treasures hidden in tombs seem always just around the corner; hieroglyphs, while beautiful, seem impossible to read; and the beautiful sculptures and paintings seem from a time incredibly long ago. In a sense, one goal of this course is to demystify ancient Egypt but not to take the fun out of it.

As we learn more and more about Egypt, it will all become familiar. Students will have an idea of how hieroglyphs work and what they say; we will come to know how archaeologists, using scholarship and learning, search for undiscovered tombs; and we will learn the techniques used to create the art of ancient Egypt. But as we learn more and more, the student should become more and more amazed by the culture. What was created on the banks of the Nile was an event unique in human history. No civilization lasted so long, contributed so much, or repeatedly amazed as did ancient Egypt.

Because Egyptian history lasted so long, Egyptologists divide it into three periods called *Kingdoms*: (1) The Old Kingdom saw the beginnings of nationhood for Egypt under one supreme ruler, the pharaoh. During this period, the pyramids were built, and the rules of Egyptian art were established that would govern for 3,000 years. (2) The Middle Kingdom, a period of stabilizing after the Old Kingdom collapsed, saw a nation fighting to regain its greatness. (3) The New Kingdom, the glamour period of ancient Egypt, was when all the stars—Hatshepsut, Tutankhamen, Ramses the Great, and others—appeared.

We will chronologically survey the full 3,000 years of recorded ancient Egyptian history, emphasizing that the ancient Egyptians were people just like ourselves, motivated by the same fears, doubts, and hopes. By the end of the course, students should feel that they know the kings and queens who made Egypt great. As we study the different reigns, we will also discuss various aspects of Egyptian civilization so that you should learn far more than just the rulers of ancient Egypt. You should be able to walk through the Egyptian collection of a museum and tell when a statue was carved, have an idea which pharaoh it is by the way the face is carved, and perhaps even be able to read the hieroglyphs to discern the king's name. In short, I want to turn out "junior Egyptologists," people with a deep understanding of Egypt, for whom ancient artifacts will not all look the same.

To a great extent, the fun of history is in the details. Knowing what kind of wine Tutankhamen preferred makes him come alive. Knowing that Ramses the Great was crippled by arthritis for the last decade of his long life makes us more sympathetic to the boastful monarch who fathered more than one hundred

children. If we understand what it was like to be a miner sent to the turquoise mines in the Sinai in the summer, we will feel a kinship with our long dead counterparts. As we wind our way chronologically through thirty centuries of history, we will pause repeatedly to look at the details that make up the big picture.

The first five lectures will really be a prolegomena. We will see what Egypt was like before writing, and we will learn how Egyptologists piece together the history of ancient Egypt. We will see how we know what we know—how hieroglyphs were deciphered, for example—and we will see that since then, Egyptology has been one ongoing detective story.

In Lectures Six through Ten, we will see the Egyptians rise to a greatness far surpassing any other people in the Near East. We learn of a king who united Egypt by might and of a pharaoh who showed Egypt how to build the pyramids. While we see how the pyramids were built, we will learn just what it was that made Egypt great. At the end of these lectures, we will see Egypt collapse into a dark age about which little is known, and we will try to figure out what happened.

Lectures Eleven through Sixteen discuss Egypt's successful attempt to pull itself together, only to collapse once again. We see heroic kings from the south battle to unite the country and establish a peace that would last for two centuries—as long as the United States has existed. Then we will see Egypt invaded by the mysterious people called the Hyksos, only to watch as the kings of the south battle Egypt back to greatness. We will also look in detail at the Old Testament story of Joseph in Egypt to see what light it might shed on this period.

Lectures Seventeen through Twenty-Five deal with the fabulous Dynasty XVIII, the period of Egypt's greatest wealth and personalities. We will take in-depth looks at the kings and queens of this period. We will see Hatshepsut, the woman who ruled as king; Akhenaten, the first monotheist in history, who changed the religion of Egypt; and Tutankhamen, the son of Akhenaten, who became the most famous of Egypt's kings when his undisturbed tomb was discovered in 1922.

Lectures Twenty-Five through Twenty-Eight are a brief excursion into my specialty, mummies. We will talk about everything you ever wanted to know about mummies, including how to make one. We will also see that mummies are like books—packed with information—if you know how to read them.

Lectures Twenty-Nine through Thirty-Five focus on the end of the New Kingdom, the last great epoch of Egyptian history. Dominated by Ramses the Great, this period also had other important kings, and we will discuss who was the unnamed pharaoh of the Exodus.

In Lectures Thirty-Six through Forty-One, we will see Egypt's greatness slipping away. Egypt will be invaded by a series of conquering peoples, including

Nubians, Libyans, and Persians. It is a sad story, and we will examine the causes of Egypt's decline.

Egypt's last gasp is under the Greek kings, the Ptolemies. This period begins with the conquest of Alexander the Great and ends with Cleopatra. For two hundred years, once mighty Egypt is ruled by kings named Ptolemy, all descended from General Ptolemy who served under Alexander. In Lectures Forty-Two through Forty-Seven, we will trace what life was like for an Egyptian under the oppressive rule of their Greek masters.

It is a long and fascinating history, but the study of Egypt should not end with this course. There will be suggestions of how to continue learning about Egypt—societies to join, events to attend, books to read. The adventure should not end here.

Lecture Thirteen

The Middle Kingdom: Dynasty XII (1991–1782 BC)

Scope: In the previous lecture, we saw Dynasty XI as one of unification, slowly bringing together Egypt's fragmented areas. In Dynasty XII, we see an establishment mentality—the seven kings of this dynasty have nothing to prove. They build pyramids, foster great literature, control the complete country, and return Egypt to its greatness. We will also see how this dynasty uses literature for political purposes.

Outline

- I. Art history tells us something about the difference between Dynasty XI and Dynasty XII.
 - A. Montuhotep's statues show brute power—he reunited Egypt by force.
 - B. Although he had the resources, his statues are crude and poorly worked. Artistic skills were lost during the First Intermediate Period.
 - C. The statues of Dynasty XII, by contrast, are skilled and refined, the product of royal workshops.
- II. Amenemhet I (1991–1962 BC) probably was the vizier of the last king of Dynasty XI; he was a commoner who did great things.
 - A. A papyrus now in Leningrad establishes his legitimacy by telling of a magician of Sneferu's reign who predicted bad times but also that “the son of someone” (a commoner) would wear the red and white crowns and fix Egypt's woes. His name would be “Ameny,” short for Amenemhet.
 - B. The king's names show that the god Amun is on the rise. Amenemhet's Horus name (*weham-mswe*), “repeater of births,” suggests a renaissance.
 - C. The new capital in the Fayoum, 30 miles southwest of Cairo, is situated to control all of Egypt. It is symbolically named Itj-towi, “Binder of Two Lands,” stressing the ideal of unification.
 - D. Tombs of the *nomarchs* (high officials) at Beni Hassan in Middle Egypt show their fantastic wealth. The tombs also record events.
 1. The tomb scenes are brightly painted and represent everyday life.
 2. The tomb of Khnumhotep I tells of a new survey to redistribute lands, indicating political stability.
 - E. The pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht is mud brick, 180 feet high.
 1. It's constructed of reused relief blocks from the pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom kings.
 2. The entrance is on the north, as is traditional. It points to the fixed North Star.

- F. The first coregency is established, and the king rules with his son Sesostris for ten years.
- G. The “Tale of Sinhue” says Amenemhet I was murdered while his son was out of the country. Sinhue fled for fear of anarchy, but there is a happy ending.
- H. The “Instructions of Amenemhet to His Son” tend to confirm that murder occurred.
 - 1. The document may have been written by Sesostris.
 - 2. It is basically cynical in tone.
 - 3. It even describes Amenemhet’s death in a palace coup, but never calls it murder.

III. Sesostris I (1971–1926 BC) was another great king.

- A. He built forts in Nubia (the Biblical Kush) to control the gold supply.
 - 1. These mud-brick forts were very impressive.
 - 2. There was one on each side of the Nile to control trade on the river.
- B. Sesostris I had a pyramid at Lisht as his father did, but it was a unique construction. Walls were built from the center to the corners and midpoints of four sides, then filled with sand and rubble.
- C. He erected a pair of 66-foot obelisks at Heliopolis—one is still there—and a temple at Karnak.
- D. He controlled all of Egypt.
- E. “Admonitions of Amenemhet I” gives advice from the dead king.
- F. Sesostris established a coregency for the last three years of his reign.

IV. Amenemhet II (1929–1895 BC) had another long and successful reign.

- A. He sent an expedition to Punt (modern Eritrea, perhaps Somalia).
- B. Foreign trade and expansionism were his hallmarks. Royal gifts are found in Byblos in Lebanon. The treasure of the Temple of Tod (south of Luxor) contained Levantine silver cups, Babylonian cylinder seals, and Mesopotamian lapis.
- C. His pyramid at Dahshur is mostly ruined, partly because of a high water table.
- D. He had a coregency for the last three years of his reign, continuing the precedent set by Sesostris I.

V. Sesostris II (1897–1878 BC) continued the family tradition of alternating names.

- A. He expanded agriculture in the Fayoum area.
- B. His pyramid at Lahun had an entrance hidden beneath the paving stones, with tombs of females around it.

1. Excavators in the early twentieth century found the hoard of Sit-Hathor-Yunet in a wall niche; this trove consisted of fine jewelry of the Middle Kingdom.
 2. A water jar for the princess was also discovered.
- VI. Sesostri III (1878–1841 BC) ended the alternation of names.**
- A. His statues depart from the tradition of god-like, serene portraits to depictions of the king as tired and brooding.
 - B. A military leader (6 feet, 6 inches tall), he crushed the Nubians and strengthened forts. He dug a canal around the Aswan cataract.
 - C. He built temples everywhere—now gone—and a pyramid at Dahshur.
- VII. Amenemhet III (1842–1797 BC) had another long reign, and his portraits resemble his father's. He is the last great king of the Middle Kingdom.**
- A. He sent numerous expeditions to the Sinai turquoise mines during his reign.
 - B. He had two pyramids, as in the Old Kingdom, showing his wealth—one at Dahshur, one at Hawara.
 1. At Hawara, the entrance is on the south, with dead-end passages to fool robbers.
 2. The burial chamber is carved from a single block of quartzite. Two sarcophagi, one for him and one for his daughter, Neferu-Ptah, were found.
- VIII. Amenemhet IV (1798–1786 BC) had no known pyramid, and little is known of him. A temple at Medinet Maadi in the Fayoum is his only known monument.**
- IX. Queen Sobeknefru (1785–1782 BC) ruled briefly at the end of the dynasty, but little is known of her, and no pyramid has been found.**

Essential Reading:

H. E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*.

Supplementary Reading:

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter VII.

Questions to Consider:

1. How does this dynasty differ from the previous one?
2. What are the signs that prosperity had returned to Egypt?

Lecture Fourteen

The Second Intermediate Period

Scope: We will see three distinct phases of government in this lecture: (1) the decline of the Middle Kingdom during Dynasty XIII, (2) Egypt controlled by foreigners during Dynasties XV–XVII, and (3) the expulsion of the Hyksos by a heroic prince of Thebes and his two sons at the end of Dynasty XVII. We should recall that ancient Egypt is the only civilization to have been eclipsed twice and bounced back to prominence on both occasions.

Outline

- I. Dynasty XIII (1782–1650 BC) is the lost dynasty.
 - A. We have the names of ten kings, but little else, other than a few small pyramids at Dahshur. How did they feel building in the shadows of the large pyramids of Sneferu at Dahshur? Perhaps they built at Dahshur for religious purposes.
 1. King Hor (1760 BC) had a very short reign, but his tomb at Dahshur contained a fine life-sized wooden Ka-statue. This indicates wealth, because wood was very expensive in ancient Egypt.
 2. Four *small* pyramids at Saqqara are a sign of decline.
 - B. For the last 57 years of the XIII Dynasty, another group of “kings” (Dynasty XIV) ruled from the Eastern Delta.
 1. There is very little tangible record from this Delta dynasty, because the area is so moist.
 2. Egyptological investigations began in the Delta in the nineteenth century to find evidence of Biblical events. The Delta Exploration Society, later the Egypt Exploration Fund (now Society), pioneered excavations in the area.
 3. But the Delta was—and is—difficult land to dig in. Whole temples have entirely sunk under water.
 4. The kingship was weakening.
- II. Dynasty XV: The Hyksos (1663–1555 BC).
 - A. Who are the Hyksos? Not “shepherd kings,” as first translated, but “foreign kings.”
 1. The problem with tracing the Hyksos in the historical record is that only victories were recorded in ancient Egyptian chronicles. Defeats went unrecorded.
 2. The Hyksos were Semites who invaded from without or perhaps just took over after living in Egypt for some time. The tombs at Beni Hassan show Semites in Egypt.

3. They ruled from the northern Delta—Avaris (modern Tell el-Daba)—where the soil is moist, so little remains. Current archaeological research is going on at Avaris.
 4. Foreign exchange during this period is indicated by Minoan frescos. A jar with a Hyksos cartouche was found in the palace of Knossos on Crete.
- B.** The Hyksos worshipped strange gods: Seth (the “evil God” who had hacked up Osiris) and the war god, Reshep.
1. Seth was represented by a goat-like animal with a forked tail.
 2. We have no evidence of Hyksos temples to these gods. They don’t seem to have integrated with the locals.
- C.** They were not literate; their scarabs show only scroll designs and very few inscriptions. There are very few Hyksos scarabs in the south, suggesting that this foreign people stayed in the north.
- D.** Was Joseph in Egypt during this time? Some people think Joseph and his brothers *were* the Hyksos.
- III.** Dynasty XVII (1663–1570 BC) began the overthrow of the Hyksos.
- A.** The princes ruling in Thebes were buried in crude coffins at Dra Abu el-Naga.
- B.** The inflammatory letter from the Hyksos king Apophis to Seqenenre Tao II was first believed to be a literary papyrus, but it is only a fragment. Because we don’t have the end of the papyrus, we don’t know what happened after Seqenenre massed an army to march north.
- C.** Papyrus was the first paper in the history of the world.
1. Although the papyrus plant once grew wild in Egypt, it is now cultivated for the tourist trade.
 2. To make a surface for writing, you take the stalk of the plant, cut thin strips, then pound it with a mallet and leave it in the sun to dry. With a stone, you polish it until the surface is smooth enough for writing.
 3. A papyrus roll was a series of glued pages. Over thousands of years, the first and last pages of a papyrus tended to be the most badly damaged—thus, we lack the end of the story of Apophis. Is there any way to know what really happened?
- D.** The Theban prince Seqenenre Tao II went to war, and his mummy in Cairo tells us the outcome of the dispute.
1. He most likely died in battle as a result of head wounds. He was brought back to Thebes for burial but was never completely embalmed.
 2. His son Kamose (“the soul is born”) continued the war against the Hyksos.
 3. The Kamose Stela and Carnarvon Tablet tell the tale of a walled city and a Hyksos messenger to Nubia who doesn’t get through.

4. Kamose's brother, Ahmose, completed the job of expelling the Hyksos.
5. A career military man, Ahmose, son of Ebana, recorded the final Egyptian victory on his own tomb wall: The Hyksos were chased to Palestine. Ahmose I will begin Dynasty XVIII.

Essential Reading:

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter VIII.

Supplementary Reading:

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 90–97.

Questions to Consider:

1. How were the Hyksos able to conquer the Egyptians?
2. Why are there so few records of the Hyksos occupation?

* *Erratum*: On the tape, the professor twice refers to the “pyramid” of King Hor; he did not have a pyramid but a shaft tomb.

Lecture Fifteen

Joseph in Egypt

Scope: As we have seen, during the Second Intermediate Period, Egypt was ruled by foreigners, the Hyksos. The Hyksos introduced horses and chariots to Egypt. Were they the Israelites? The Bible describes a lengthy sojourn of Israelites in Egypt, but there is little archaeological evidence to support this. We examine the Joseph story to see what light Egyptology might shed on its authenticity. Both internal and external evidence is considered.

Outline

- I. The Joseph story (Genesis 37–50) is our primary source.
 - A. Joseph is an interpreter of dreams. He dreams of eleven sheaves bowing down to him and of the sun, moon, and eleven stars (perhaps he has eleven brothers) bowing to him.
 - B. His brothers throw him in a well and sell him to Ishmaelites on their way to Egypt; Joseph becomes a slave.
 - C. Sold to Potiphar, pharaoh's official, he has success in Egypt, although still a slave.
 - D. Joseph is falsely accused of seduction by Potiphar's wife.
 - E. Joseph is thrown in jail.
 1. The pharaoh's cup-bearer, also in jail, dreams of three branches of grapes. (He will be released in three days.)
 2. The baker dreams that birds eat three cakes on the tray on his head. (He will be hanged in three days.)
 - F. Pharaoh also has dreams, and much follows from them:
 1. Seven lean cows eat seven fat cows.
 2. Seven lean ears of corn eat seven full ears.
 3. The cup-bearer remembers Joseph, who interprets the dreams, and Egypt's economy is planned for fourteen years.
 4. Joseph is given the ring of authority and all cry out "Abrek" wherever he goes.
 - G. Joseph and his brothers have a reunion.
 1. Jacob (called "Israel") sends all Joseph's brothers but Benjamin, Rachel's son, to Egypt for food during a famine.
 2. Joseph recognizes his brothers and asks for Benjamin.
 3. When Joseph finally sees Benjamin, he plays a trick and has the silver divining cup placed in his sack. When it is "discovered," Benjamin is kept as a hostage.
 4. Joseph's identity is finally revealed. God sent him to ensure the survival of the children of Israel.

- H. Jacob comes to live in “Goshen,” the Eastern Delta.
 - 1. Jacob has a vision of God: “I will bring you out of Egypt.” (Exodus foretold.)
 - 2. Joseph buys up cattle and land for the pharaoh but doesn’t buy the land of the temple priests.
 - I. Jacob dies.
 - 1. First he blesses his twelve sons—the twelve tribes of Israel.
 - 2. He also requests burial outside of Egypt.
 - 3. “Then Joseph ordered the doctors in his service to embalm his father. The doctors embalmed Israel and it took 40 days for embalming... The Egyptians mourned him for 70 days” (Genesis). In the whole Bible, only Jacob and Joseph are mummified.
 - 4. A large retinue leaves Egypt to bury Israel.
 - J. The death of Joseph.
 - 1. Joseph says, “Be sure to take my bones from here.”
 - 2. They embalm him and lay him in his coffin in Egypt.
- II. What does the evidence suggest? Some of the similarities are intriguing.
- A. The Potiphar story is like the Egyptian “Tale of Two Brothers.”
 - B. Potiphar’s name is the Egyptian “Pa-di-Ra,” (“that given by Ra”).
 - C. Who were the magicians mentioned in Genesis? The Coptic (ancient Egyptian) word for magician is *sesperonch* and means “scribe of the house of life,” i.e., a religious school.
 - D. An Egyptian Dream Book confirms Joseph’s skill at interpreting prophetic dreams. The pharaoh’s dreams are not in the *sesperonch*’s dream book, explaining why he couldn’t interpret the dream.
 - E. A stela on Sehel Island tells of a seven-year famine resulting from the Nile’s low water level.
 - F. Joseph’s signet ring of authority is typically Egyptian.
 - G. “Abrek” is close to an Egyptian phrase: ab (“heart”) + r (“to”) + k (“you”), perhaps similar to “god go with you.”
 - H. The priests were allowed to accumulate land, which was true in Egypt.
 - I. The Bible says “40 days to embalm, 70 for mourning.” This is in accordance with Egyptian rules for mummification.

Essential Reading:

The Bible, Genesis: 37–50.

Questions to Consider:

1. What parts of the Joseph story contain Egyptian elements?
2. What connection might the Joseph story have with the Hyksos?

Lecture Sixteen

The Beginning of the New Kingdom: The Fabulous XVIIIth Dynasty

Scope: We will see four patterns established at the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty that will become part of the fabric of Egyptian society: (1) the Queen as a strong political force, (2) the use of a standing army to increase the wealth of Egypt, (3) burial of the pharaohs in the Valley of the Kings, and (4) Thebes as one of the two capitals of Egypt. Finally, we will take a detailed look at the nature of warfare in the ancient world.

Outline

- I. Ahmose (1570–1546 BC) was the final expeller of the Hyksos. He secured Egypt's northern and southern borders.
 - A. He honored his grandmother, Tetesheri (Seqenenre-Tao's mother), and his mother, Queen Ahotep (Seqenenre's wife), by erecting monuments to them. Queen Ahotep may have ruled until Ahmose came of age. Women were to become more important in Egypt than in any other ancient civilization.
 - B. Ahmose's wife, Queen Ahmose-Nefertari, was the first named "God's wife" and "heiress," legitimizing matrilineal succession of pharaohs. Although the record isn't clear, one apparently became pharaoh by marrying the "right" woman.
 - C. He went to Nubia, where he defeated their famous bowmen. Ahmose-son-of-Ebana recorded being rewarded with gold and slaves.
- II. Amenhotep I (1551–1524 BC), Ahmose's son, continued the military pattern. His name means "the god Amun is pleased."
 - A. He sent a great expedition to the third cataract of Nubia. Ahmose-son-of-Ebana has left an account of this campaign as well.
 - B. Amenhotep I has a separate mortuary temple and tomb; he was the first pharaoh to do this. The temple was a place where the ka-priests could make offerings and say prayers for the pharaoh. Perhaps Amenhotep separated them to keep the tomb area more remote.
 - C. Amenhotep left no sons. Who would be king?
- III. Tuthmosis I (1524–1518 BC), his successor, was also a strong military leader. His name means "Toth is born"; Toth is the ibis-headed god of writing.
 - A. Tuthmosis was a military man who married the right woman: the daughter of King Ahmose and Queen Ahmose-Nefertari.

- B. He led the greatest Nubian campaign—all the way beyond the fourth cataract!
 - 1. “Water that turned one who wanted to go north into one who went south”—this phrase refers to the bend in the Nile they navigated. (Ahmose-son-of-Ebana went along again.)
 - 2. Tuthmosis conquered two tribes and the “sand dwellers,” probably Bedouins. Again, Egypt’s centralized form of government prevailed over tribal Nubia.
 - 3. He erected a stela to proclaim Egypt’s southern border: “Enemies shall have their heads cut off, their families murdered...they will have no successors.”
 - 4. The corpse of one tribal leader was tacked upside-down to the prow of the king’s hawkship.
 - C. Tuthmosis led a Mesopotamian campaign to the Euphrates. A stela he erected there described Egypt’s northern border.
- IV. Tuthmosis I innovated by constructing the first tomb in the Valley of the Kings.
- A. We need to ask why.
 - 1. The pyramids were targets of theft, as happened in the two intermediate periods. Thus, you hide your tomb so it won’t be robbed.
 - 2. We have the account of the architect Ineni on the building of this secret tomb on the West Bank, opposite Thebes.
 - 3. The area of the Valley of the Kings is dry and desolate, not inviting to settlement. It has only one entrance. The highest cliff is a “natural pyramid.”
 - 4. One tradition suggests that foreign captives built the tomb of Tuthmosis and were killed afterward.
 - 5. All the tombs in the Valley are chiseled into white limestone, a stone that flakes easily and has smooth surfaces. At this point, burial in pyramids comes to an end.
 - 6. Tuthmosis also erected two large obelisks at Karnak Temple praising the god Amun. This marks the start of the growing importance of Thebes as a significant religious capital.
 - B. Tuthmosis I and Queen Ahmose (“great wife”) have only one surviving daughter, twelve-year-old Hatshepsut. Once again, the question arises: Who will become the next king?

Essential Reading:

Cyril Aldred, *The Egyptians*, Chapter 12.

Supplementary Reading:

Peter Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 100–103.

Questions to Consider:

1. What patterns are established at the beginning of Dynasty XVIII?
2. What is the role of women during this period compared with their role in other civilizations?

Lecture Seventeen

Queen Hatshepsut (1498–1483 BC)

Scope: One of the greatest individuals in Egyptian history, Hatshepsut appears in no official Egyptian record. We will trace her biography from marriage at the age of twelve to her half-brother, Tuthmosis II, to her death as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt.” We will also see how a woman handles the three ways a king was supposed to distinguish himself: building, waging war, and undertaking trading expeditions.

After examining her three major achievements—her temple at Deir el Bahri, the trading expedition to Punt, and two great obelisks—we will discuss why her name was systematically erased from the Egyptian records. We will also discuss her relationship with Senenmut, the commoner who may have been her lover.

Outline

- I. Tuthmosis II (1518–1504 BC) was the son of Tuthmosis I and Mutnefert, sister of the Great Wife Ahmose.
 - A. He married twelve-year-old Hatshepsut, the “heiress” of the royal line.
 - B. They were married for twenty years, an uneventful period.
 - C. When Tuthmosis II died, the succession was in question.
- II. Hatshepsut (1498–1483 BC) served as regent the first four years for her young nephew and stepson, Tuthmosis III.
 - A. At Deir el Bahri (*Djeser-Djeseru*), she built a beautiful temple next to Montuhotep’s. The temple walls tell her story.
 1. In 1829, Champollion visited the temple and saw a confusing scene: there were two kings, one of them Hatshepsut, and “the Great King is in the lesser position!”
 2. German Egyptologist Richard Lepsius figured out the mystery in the 1850s: Hatshepsut went from “King’s Great Wife” to “King”!
 3. The temple walls tell the story of her life. But everywhere her name was carved, it was later replaced with those of her father, husband, and stepson. The recarved cartouches on her temple caused great debate between Egyptologists Kurt Sethe and Edouard Naville.
 4. The temple walls tell of a trading expedition Hatshepsut sent to Punt, “God’s land,” land of incense (Eritrea or Sudan). The trek began from Coptos to Quseir on the Red Sea. Then they sailed 40 miles a day for 15 days, or 600 miles. (Temple carvings at Deir el Bahri are the first accurate depiction of sub-Saharan Africa: They include the Queen of Punt, her daughter, thatched houses on stilts,

and such trade goods as incense, trees, giraffes, panther skins, and ivory.)

5. The divine birth scene on the temple claimed that, disguised as Tuthmosis I, the god Amun visited Ahmose, Hatshepsut's mother. Because her father is Amun, she is divine, like the pharaoh. Hatshepsut is shown being created on a potter's wheel.
 6. At the temple, we see scenes of how her great obelisks were quarried and transported. They were created in 7 months, then placed on a barge towed by 27 ships. Her two great obelisks were among the tallest in Egypt.
- B.** Her first tomb (as Queen) was high in the hills west of the Valley of the Kings and contained an abandoned sarcophagus.
- C.** Her second tomb was in the Valley of the Kings.
1. The excavation of the tomb, the longest and most difficult in the Valley, was done by Howard Carter. The tomb went toward Deir el Bahri, but workmen hit bad rock and had to change direction.
 2. It contained two sarcophagi—one for her and one recarved for the reburial of her father, Tuthmosis I. She was buried with her father, not her husband.
- D.** The Red Chapel at Karnak justified her kingship—the oracle statue proclaimed she would be king.
1. Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III are shown together.
 2. The Red Chapel was dismantled twenty years after her death. Why did Tuthmosis III wait so long to do it?
 3. Rather than personal vengeance, the reason may reflect a desire that a female pharaoh not be recorded in the official chronicles.
- E.** Senenmut, the man with two dozen titles, is central to her reign.
1. Some have suggested that Senenmut, a commoner and lifelong bachelor, was Hatshepsut's lover.
 2. He was overseer of the royal palace and tutor of Princess Neferu re.
 3. As Royal Architect and Steward of Amun (treasurer), he controlled money.
 4. His first tomb, at Gournah, displayed his titles and contained a smashed pink quartzite sarcophagus in the shape of a cartouche, originally intended for Hatshepsut.
 5. His second tomb, at Deir el Bahri, was unfinished. It is a grand tomb with several levels and contains the first ceiling with an astronomical design.
 6. Pornographic graffiti at Thebes show a man with an overseer's cap (Senenmut) making love to a woman (Hatshepsut).
 7. Senenmut dies, then Hatshepsut. Twenty years later, her name was erased. The kings list never included her name.

Essential Reading:

Joyce Tyldesley, *Hatshepsut*.

Supplementary Reading:

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile*, Chapter IX.

Questions to Consider:

1. How was it possible for Hatshepsut to become king?
2. What were the outstanding achievements of Hatshepsut's reign?

Lecture Eighteen

Obelisks

Scope: Obelisks are a purely Egyptian invention. Here we will see the religious significance of obelisks and how the phenomenon arose. The erecting of an obelisk is perhaps an even greater engineering feat than the building of a pyramid. We will discuss how obelisks were quarried and the theories about how they were erected.

To illustrate how difficult it is just to move an obelisk, modern attempts to remove obelisks from Egypt will be discussed.

Outline

- I. The origin of obelisks is religious.
 - A. *Obelisk* comes from the Greek for “meat skewer.”
 - B. The *benben* stone, worshipped in temples, was its precursor.
 - C. Sun temples highlighted obelisks, and every obelisk had a pyramidion on top.
 - D. Heliopolis, “On” in the Bible, had more obelisks than any other city.
- II. The locations of the obelisks.
 - A. Heliopolis now has only one obelisk left.
 - B. Karnak had a dozen: two by Tuthmosis I, four by Hatshepsut, and six by Tuthmosis III. Only two are still standing (by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I). Hatshepsut was very proud of her obelisks, which she claimed were completed in only seven months.
 - C. Ramses II had dozens of small ones in Pi-Ramses in the Delta.
 - D. Ramses II had two at Luxor and had his son tied on top of one as it was erected!
- III. How to erect an obelisk.
 - A. All obelisks come from the same Aswan pink granite quarries.
 - B. The Unfinished Obelisk is the largest ever attempted.
 1. It weighs 1,000 tons—equal to two jumbo jets!
 2. Pounded out of the quarry with dolerite balls, it shows no chisel marks.
 3. Caverns were created underneath obelisks until they could be freed. They were then pulled on rollers to the Nile.
 4. A canal was dug under the obelisk, and a barge was placed underneath it. When the obelisk was in place, it was pivoted lengthwise onto the barge.
 5. The barge was then towed with the current to the final site.

6. There are several theories about how obelisks were erected. It was probably done with ramps, then ropes. WGBH-TV did an experiment to try probable techniques with Egyptologist Mark Lehner and a 37-ton obelisk.

IV. Obelisks are in exile all over the world.

- A. Roman fascination led to many obelisks being brought to Italy.
 1. Two were moved in 10 BC by Augustus from Heliopolis to Alexandria.
 2. Thirteen were moved to Rome for circuses and other events. They were re-excavated in the sixteenth century. Techniques for erecting them had been lost, but the obelisks were erected using human-powered winches.
- B. The Paris obelisk was moved in 1832. The Alexandria obelisks had been given to France by Mohamet Ali, but Champollion picked the Luxor obelisk.
- C. London's obelisk (1877) fell at Alexandria in the 1301 earthquake.
 1. Wayman Dixon built a caisson, and the obelisk was towed from Egypt to England.
 2. In a storm, six men died. The caisson in which the obelisk was being towed floated free; it was salvaged and eventually got to England, where it was erected on the Thames.
- D. The New York obelisk was the last one removed, in 1880.
 1. Navy lieutenant Henry H. Goringe was paid by William H. Vanderbilt to remove the standing Alexandria obelisk.
 2. The land was owned by an Italian who wanted compensation.
 3. The streets were owned by foreign merchants, who said that the obelisk would damage sewers if it were moved through the streets. So Goringe went another way.
 4. There was not enough timber to lower the obelisk properly, and it stuck on the four crabs installed by the Romans at the base. It was lifted vertically first, then rotated horizontally.
 5. The base contained an ancient trowel and plumb bob, so the Masons adopted the obelisk!
 6. Goringe moved the obelisk on cannonballs to water and floated it to port.
 7. The steamer *Desoug* (without valid registration papers) was opened up, the obelisk was inserted, and the vessel was sailed by an alcoholic Yugoslav crew!
 8. Brought first to Staten Island, then to the east side of New York, it finally landed at 96th Street from the Hudson River.
 9. A special railroad was built, and for 112 days the obelisk moved at the rate of one city block a day.
 10. The pedestal (which weighed 50 tons) was the largest object moved on wheels up to that time.

11. On January 22, 1881, the obelisk was erected in Central Park with 9,000 Masons present. The Grand Master made a speech, and placed in the pedestal were 1880 proof coins and "a small box [whose] contents were known only to Mr. William Henry Hurlbert." It's a mystery worthy of ancient Egypt!

Essential Reading:

Labib Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*.

Supplementary Reading:

Aubrey Noakes, *Cleopatra's Needles*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the major difficulties in quarrying obelisks?
2. What modern difficulties were encountered in moving the obelisks to New York and London?

Lecture Nineteen

Tuthmosis III: King at Last (1504–1450 BC)

Scope: For twenty-two years Tuthmosis III was second fiddle to his Aunt Hatshepsut, who ruled as a king although she was a woman. When she died and he ruled by himself, he became one of the greatest military pharaohs Egypt had ever known. By tracing the major events in the reign of “the Napoleon of Ancient Egypt,” we will see what it meant to be a great king.

Outline

- I. Tuthmosis was considered king at an early age, although his Aunt Hatshepsut ruled as the regent, and the young boy doesn’t appear in the historical record for years.
 - A. One theory holds that Hatshepsut thrust him aside in order to rule.
 - B. A more plausible premise holds that he was simply off training with the military. Tuthmosis, after all, would be the greatest military pharaoh of Egypt.
- II. At the Battle of Megiddo—year 2 of Tuthmosis’s reign—the king demonstrated his bravery.
 - A. Warfare was big business in ancient Egypt. Peace wasn’t an ancient Egyptian virtue.
 1. Chariot corps were the elite. Chariots were light, to be maneuverable, and pulled by two horses. They were made of three different kinds of wood. Chariots were platforms for archers and were the main weapon of battle. Each carried a driver and an archer. Unfortunately, they broke down frequently.
 2. The infantry, the largest body of the army, set the pace of campaigning, marching about fifteen miles a day. Each man had a round-topped shield (a piece of wood with an animal hide over it) and a sword or spear. The men were of the lower classes and usually illiterate.
 3. Archers, the third component of the army, were also an elite corps.
 4. The king rode in front of all of them in a chariot.
 - B. Palestine and Syria had been slipping away from Egyptian control during the reign of Hatshepsut, and Tuthmosis III planned to do something about it soon after he became king.
 - C. Of three possible routes of attack, Tuthmosis chose a narrow valley, “man behind man, horse behind horse,” disregarding the advice of his generals.

- D. He surprised the enemy, but looting soldiers let many of them escape, forcing a seven-month siege of Megiddo, a walled city.
 - 1. During the siege, the Egyptians deployed a kind of “tank” that used a covered battering ram.
 - 2. When Megiddo fell, Tuthmosis’s reputation was secured.
- III. Tuthmosis didn’t rest there. He waged campaigns in Syria for the next eighteen years.
 - A. The Egyptians were resurrectionists who believed that to live outside Egypt (and die there) might endanger their chances for immortality. Egypt’s own religious beliefs prevented it from colonizing, which made regular plunder necessary. In a sense, Egypt’s religion created a constant state of war.
 - B. Tuthmosis’s statues reveal him as refined. (He has the same prominent nose as Hatshepsut.)
 - C. At Karnak Temple, Tuthmosis carved a botanical “book” of plants he saw during his campaigns in Syria. On the temple, he recorded his victories.
- IV. Late in his reign, Tuthmosis erased Hatshepsut’s name from all records.
 - A. This probably wasn’t done from malice but from the fact that Egyptian tradition demanded that kings be male.
 - B. Some of his own wives have interesting stories. Early in the twentieth century, robbers found the tomb of three Syrian princesses of Tuthmosis’s harem (the gold headdresses are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York).
 - C. While he was doing battle with the Syrians, then, Tuthmosis was also making diplomatic marriages.
- V. The tomb of Tuthmosis III, in the rear of the Valley of the Kings, is unique.
 - A. The tomb is in a high, remote place, probably to avoid grave-robbers.
 - B. The workmen chiseled a descending passageway hundreds of feet into the mountain.
 - C. The burial chamber is carved in the oval shape of a cartouche. The magic of the circle protected Tuthmosis.
 - D. The sarcophagus is also in the shape of a cartouche.
 - E. The wall paintings are religious texts, drawn as if on papyrus, with stick figures. Tuthmosis III is the first to have his own Book of the Dead painted on his tomb walls.
 - F. Afterward, the steps of his tomb were carved away, denying access to any robbers.

Essential Reading:

Cyril Aldred, *The Egyptians*, Chapter 12.

Supplementary Reading:

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, pp. 108–111.

Questions to Consider:

1. What was Tuthmosis III doing while Hatshepsut was king?
2. Why did Tuthmosis delay in erasing Hatshepsut's name from her monuments?

Lecture Twenty

The Fabulous XVIIIth Dynasty Rolls On

Scope: We have already traced the beginning of Dynasty XVIII from the expulsion of the Hyksos invaders to the reign of Tuthmosis III, “the Napoleon of Egypt.” In this lecture, we see the glorious Dynasty XVIII continue through two excellent pharaohs and then one great one, all descendants of Tuthmosis. We discuss the reign of Amenhotep III, the “Sun King,” in detail to show how great Egypt was.

Outline

- I.** Amenhotep II, the successor of Tuthmosis III (1453–1419 BC), ruled for over thirty years.
 - A.** A military man, he continued his father’s tradition.
 - 1.** After his Nubian campaign, seven Nubian princes were hung upside down, dead on his ship.
 - 2.** Six were later hung from the temple wall at Karnak.
 - B.** His tomb, KV 35, which is in the Valley of the Kings, also held other kings: Amenhotep III, Tuthmosis IV, the “elder lady,” and others.
- II.** Tuthmosis IV (1419–1386 BC), whose claim to the throne was probably weak, also had over thirty years of rule.
 - A.** The Dream Stela at the Sphinx, which sits between its giant paws, suggests a shaky succession.
 - 1.** The inscription says that Tuthmosis was told by the Sphinx in a dream that if he removed the sand from around the Sphinx, he would become king of Egypt—both of which came to happen. This may suggest that Tuthmosis wasn’t next in line to be pharaoh.
 - 2.** To commemorate his becoming king, he had a stela carved to be placed at the Sphinx.
 - 3.** When you read the stela carefully, however, you realize that it’s much more recent than Tuthmosis’s time. Perhaps the temple priests replaced Tuthmosis’s original because it was damaged. Or perhaps they wanted to show how powerful the Sphinx really was.
 - B.** Foreign military campaigns were waged, as was common throughout the dynasty.
 - C.** An obelisk originally quarried by his grandfather, Tuthmosis III, was finally erected.
 - 1.** It lay unfinished for thirty-five years at Karnak.
 - 2.** It seems to have been a singleton, although obelisks almost always came in pairs.

3. Now in Rome, at 105 feet, it is the tallest standing obelisk in the world.

III. Amenhotep III (1386–1349 BC), “Amun is pleased,” also ruled for more than thirty years, a further sign of political stability. At this time, there were two capitals—Thebes (Luxor), the religious capital, in the south, and Memphis, the administrative center, in the north. The king spends time in both places.

- A. Amenhotep’s commemorative scarabs, the first “telegrams” in history, are an innovation. On the bottom of the scarabs are hieroglyphs, a key source of information about events in ancient Egypt.
 1. The “marriage scarab” (year 2), a wedding announcement, presents Queen Tiye. Although a commoner, Tiye came from a prominent family—her father was a military official and her brother was vizier of Lower Egypt under Amenhotep III.
 2. The “wild bull hunt scarab” (year 2) says Amenhotep captured 56 bulls in a day.
 3. The “lion hunt scarab” claims he captured 102 in 10 years.
 4. A pleasure lake one-mile long was constructed in Thebes (year 10) for Tiye. Tiye could sail her boat, “The Aten Gleams,” on the lake.
 5. Amenhotep marries a foreign princess from Mitanni (year 10), but Queen Tiye is still mentioned.
- B. Amenhotep was a diplomat, not a conqueror. He had many wives, some of them the result of foreign diplomatic marriages.
- C. The wealth of Egypt came from more than military campaigns alone.
 1. Gold came from Nubia and the Wadi Hammamat.
 2. International trade contributed greatly to Egypt’s wealth, a fact reflected in the tombs of prominent people.
- D. The Luxor (Thebes) skyline is a result of Amenhotep’s building projects.
 1. Luxor Temple he dedicated to Amun. The architect, Amenhotep-Son-of-Hapu, was later deified.
 2. Malkata Palace was on the west bank of the Nile. (Here Amenhotep built the pleasure lake for Queen Tiye.) Made of painted mud brick, the palace had plenty of rooms for children and wives. Much of it has disappeared.
 3. He took another name, the “Dazzling Sun Disk of All Lands,” showing the increasing importance of the sun disk, a sign of changes to come.
 4. He moved permanently to Thebes in his later years to live in the palace. Normally, the pharaoh would have lived at Memphis. Luxor became an important city, the religious capital and residence of the king. Perhaps religion was becoming more central.
 5. Amenhotep’s mortuary temple (not his place of burial), now virtually disappeared, was fronted by the Colossi of Memnon, two

giant statues sixty feet high. (The Greeks named them for Memnon.) One of the statues was said to have spoken, presumably the wind whistling through cracks in the stone that expanded in daytime heat. Now restored, the statue doesn't speak any longer.

6. His tomb was the first in the West Valley of the Kings.

- E. Amenhotep's mummy shows teeth so bad that sheer physical pain may have made a coregency necessary in his later years. He took as coregent a young son unmentioned in the records.

Essential Reading:

Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*.

Supplementary Reading:

Cyril Aldred, *The Egyptians*, chapter 12.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did Tuthmosis IV carve the dream stela?
2. How did the reign of Amenhotep III differ from that of those kings he immediately succeeded?

Lecture Twenty-One

Akhenaten, the Heretic Pharaoh (1350–1334 BC)

Scope: Here we see the most enigmatic and controversial pharaoh in Egypt's long history. We will use his reign to illustrate what happens when the three pillars of Egyptian society—religion, the military, and the pharaoh—are altered. We will also discuss the claim that Akhenaten was the first monotheist and “the first individual in history.”

Outline

- I. Akhenaten is going to change everything in what was the most conservative society in history.
 - A. The unchanging climate and regularity of the Nile led to the concept that change was bad.
 - B. Art was practically paint-by-numbers. There was little creativity, no word for “artist” in ancient Egyptian, and no signed pieces.
 - C. Politically, the pharaoh was central, the symbol of Egypt for thousands of years, a fact emphasized by the kings lists.
 - D. Egyptian religion honored the same gods for 2,000 years.
 - E. Divine Order—*Maat*—means “status quo.”
- II. Amenhotep IV began a traditional reign.
 - A. He was coregent with his father for four or five years, perhaps because of Amenhotep III's dental problems.
 - B. He completed his father's monuments in traditional style.
 - C. He married Nefertiti, a beautiful commoner.
- III. Amenhotep IV soon instituted major changes.
 - A. He changed his name, about year 5, an act that had great meaning in Egypt. His new name was Akhenaten.
 - B. In art, Akhenaten was shown as deformed: spindly neck and arms, breasts, wide hips, elongated face. This had never been done before; the pharaoh was traditionally well muscled and vigorous.
 - C. The pharaoh instituted monotheism, the world's first: “There is no god but Aten.” This was a stunning declaration in a world of polytheistic religions.
- IV. Akhenaten's temples at Karnak also indicate the changes from a closed, massive style to one more open to the sun.
 - A. One temple is named Gem-Pa-Aten—“Aten is found.”
 1. His *heb-sed* festival was celebrated, but there are only representations of Akhenaten, not other gods, in the shrines.

2. Did they really have this festival—or is it just painted on the walls?
- B. These temples were eventually dismantled, the stones used as filler in later buildings.
 1. In this century, the Akhenaten Temple Project attempted to put together a 45,000-piece jigsaw puzzle to rebuild on paper several of these temples.
 2. It was discovered that Nefertiti had her own temple, devoted only to women. In the Old Kingdom, women never would have had such power.
- V. Akhenaten may have been forced to move from Thebes to Tell el Amarna, his Holy City in the desert.
 - A. It was an isolated spot, 200 miles north of Thebes, absent of previous temples or gods.
 - B. His followers made up a cult, building a city in the desert from scratch.
 - C. The boundary stelae around the city present a kind of sermon on the mount:
 1. Akhenaten says to his followers that Aten showed him the site.
 2. No images of Aten can be fashioned.
 3. There will be no more military.
 4. Akhenaten will never leave the city.
 5. Only Akhenaten knows the Aten.
 - D. The palace was a place of beauty.
 - E. Nobles' houses were in the northern and southern suburbs.
 - F. Tombs of the nobles give clues to life in the city.
 1. They were built on the east bank of the Nile.
 2. But none was completed. Did the followers of Akhenaten believe in an afterlife?
 - G. The royal tomb was isolated, as in the Valley of the Kings.
- VI. Akhenaten was unusual both as a man and a king.
 - A. He was a religious leader and mystic.
 1. He wrote the "Hymn to the Aten."
 2. He presented an abstract god, for *all* people. Egypt was no longer special.
 - B. He is shown in art as a family man with six daughters, everyday scenes that had never appeared earlier.
 - C. But something tragic happened during his reign. Diplomatic correspondence reveals problems.
 1. The military was ignored.
 2. Foreign connections were overlooked, and Egypt became isolated.
 3. Akhenaten died in the seventeenth year of his reign, and his followers were no doubt troubled about what course to take.

- VII.** Was Akhenaten a flower child or a confirmed elitist? One thing we can be sure of is that he left an incredible legacy.
- A. He is the first recorded proponent of monotheism.
 - B. Egyptologist James Henry Breasted called him “the first individual in history.”
 - C. He was a religious visionary.
 - D. Art produced during the period is still unsurpassed in quality.
 - E. Tutankhamen was probably his son—and his greatest legacy.

Essential Reading:

Cryil Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt*.

Supplementary Reading:

D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten, the Heretic King*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did Amenhotep IV change everything?
2. What were the social and economic effects of the change to monotheism?

Lecture Twenty-Two

The Discovery of Tutankhamen's Tomb

Scope: Here we see how Egyptologists search for a lost tomb. Far from the haphazard “dig and hope for a find” seen in movies, careful research in libraries before excavating is the key, followed by careful planning.

The backgrounds of the excavators are discussed and the significance of the thousands of artifacts found in the tomb will be presented in the context of Tutankhamen's life.

Outline

- I. The history of the Valley of the Kings is crucial.
 - A. Diodorus Siculus (first century BC) said priests told him of forty-seven tombs, of which fifteen were visible to him.
 - B. Richard Pococke (1739), a sea captain, said nine of the tombs could be entered. Some of the tombs were open throughout antiquity.
 - C. Bonaparte's savants (1798–1799) recorded sixteen tombs visible, eleven of them open. They discovered the tomb of Amenhotep III and made the first accurate map of the Valley.
 - D. Giovanni Belzoni (1815–1819), a circus strongman and engineer, was the first “systematic” searcher.
 1. Because tombs were chiseled out of mountains, mounds of chips on the ground were his clues.
 2. He discovered the tomb of Seti I with its sarcophagus and later held an exhibition in London.
 - E. At Deir el Bahri, a cache of royal mummies found in 1881 provided missing pharaohs from the Valley—but no Tutankhamen.
 - F. The tomb of Amenhotep II (1898) yielded more kings—but still no Tutankhamen. In fact, Cleopatra wouldn't even have heard of Tutankhamen, who turned out to be a “lost pharaoh.”
- II. The search for Tutankhamen contains a large cast of characters.
 - A. Flinders Petrie at Amarna (1890s) found early objects with Tutankhamen's name on them.
 - B. Howard Carter, artist-cum-archaeologist, is the central character in the story of Tutankhamen's discovery.
 1. Lady Amherst, a collector of antiquities, sent Carter to Egypt, where he worked for Petrie at Amarna.
 2. Carter trained as an artist at Beni Hassan under Percy Newberry.
 3. Carter was hired as Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt at age twenty-six. He installed iron gates and lights in several tombs and

investigated the robbery of the tomb of Amenhotep II (1901), tracking down the robbers.

- C. Theodore Davis, a wealthy American, hired Carter to supervise excavations.
 - 1. One of their finds was the tomb of Tuthmosis IV.
 - 2. Then Carter was transferred to Saqqara and was fired over a political incident in 1904.
- D. Edward Ayrton, trained by Petrie, was hired by Davis to replace Carter.
 - 1. Ayrton discovered a *faience* (ceramic) cup under a rock with Tut's name. This connected Tutankhamen with the Valley.
 - 2. Davis discovered a small pit (1907) with animal bones, wine jars, bandages with Tutankhamen's name, the remains of Tut's last meal, and a small mummy mask, along with floral pectorals.
 - 3. When Davis found a small tomb containing gold foil with Tut's name, he declared in a book: "I fear the Valley is now exhausted." But he was wrong.
 - 4. Tomb 55, found in 1907, contained a gilded wooden shrine of Queen Tiye and a coffin with the cartouche hacked out, plus a fragile mummy. It was considered a possible tomb for Tutankhamen.
- E. Lord Carnarvon's automobile accident (1903) finally led to the discovery of the tomb.
 - 1. Carnarvon hired the unemployed Howard Carter. They made a good team.
 - 2. Convinced that Davis hadn't found Tutankhamen, in 1917, they obtained the concession for the Valley of the Kings.
 - 3. After excavating for several years, they found the first step to the tomb on November 4, 1922; the next day they found the door. Finally a sealed door was uncovered. Carter wired Carnarvon, "Wonderful things."
 - 4. The burial chamber (February 16, 1923) contained four gilded shrines enclosing the yellow quartzite sarcophagus with a cracked lid of pink granite. The lid was removed on February 12, 1924.
 - 5. After committing what his Egyptian hosts regarded as a political gaffe, Carter went on strike and was eventually locked out.
 - 6. When Carter returned to work in October 1925, the coffins were opened. The outer one had four silver handles. The third was made of 250 pounds of gold. The mummy was there, but no records in the tomb tell of his family. Carter was puzzled by this.
 - 7. Tomb objects included chariots and thrones, but no crown. Perhaps the crown was a magical object that passed from pharaoh to pharaoh.

Essential Reading:

Nicholas Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamen*.

Supplementary Reading:

Nicholas Reeves, *Howard Carter Before Tutankhamen*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What led to the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb?
2. What did we learn from the objects in the tomb?

Lecture Twenty-Three

The Murder of Tutankhamen: A Theory

Scope: Here I present my own research suggesting that Tutankhamen was murdered. We will see how an archaeologist's hypothesis is put together from diverse sources. We will start with the body of the victim and show what can be learned from an autopsy of a mummy. Next we discuss the circumstances surrounding the death of the boy-king that suggest murder. Finally we suggest who the murderer is.

Outline

- I. We start with Tutankhamen's genealogy.
 - A. After Akhenaten died, Tutankhamen, his son by a minor wife, Kiya, succeeded him. He married his half-sister, Ankhesenamen.
 - B. The couple gave up the new holy city of el Amarna and moved back to Thebes. Tutankhamen becomes Tutankhamen.
 - C. Aye is the king's advisor.
- II. A murder mystery begins with the king's body.
 - A. Tutankhamen's first autopsy was performed on November 11, 1925.
 1. The mummy, stuck in its coffin, was cut in half at the third lumbar vertebra.
 2. An age of approximately eighteen years at death was indicated by the epiphyses of long bones, which were separate and movable; eruption of the molars also confirmed the age.
 - B. Objects in the tomb suggested a king's wealth.
 1. A canopic chest and coffinettes with his internal organs were unique.
 2. Two unnamed fetuses in their own coffins, one five months old (ten inches) and another eight months old (twelve inches), probably miscarriages of his wife, were the big surprise.
 - C. Tutankhamen's second autopsy, in the 1960s, was more carefully conducted.
 1. His age at death was confirmed by x-rays of ribs and molars. His mummy, the only one to be found intact, still rests in his tomb.
 2. The anatomist suggested death "...could have been caused by a hemorrhage under the membranes overlaying the brain in this region...could have been caused by a blow..."
 3. X-rays also enable us to reconstruct how Tutankhamen was embalmed. Hot resin was poured into his head after the brain was removed.

4. A loose bone shown on the cranial x-ray is a red herring—it may have been dislodged post-mortem.
- D. Circumstantial evidence for murder is perhaps stronger than the physical evidence.
1. Tutankhamen died suddenly and was buried in haste.
 2. His wife Ankhesenamen sent a letter to the Hittite king in which she revealed her fear of having no heirs. The Hittites sent an ambassador to confirm the letter. A prince they sent for marriage was later murdered.
 3. The walls of Tutankhamen's tomb show officials pulling the mummy to the tomb. Another wall shows the dead Tutankhamen and Aye, the vizier of Egypt, wearing a leopard-skin and performing a ceremony giving life to the dead king. The opening-of-the-mouth ceremony shows that Aye is king.
 4. A commoner, Aye succeeded Tutankhamen. He may have even married Tut's wife.
 5. The Newberry ring, named for an Egyptologist, shows how Aye became king by marrying Ankhesenamen. After her letter to the Hittites, she disappears from history.
 6. A second ring, discovered later, confirms Newberry's claim that Aye succeeded Tut.
- E. A question remains: Why isn't Ankhesenamen shown in Aye's tomb?
1. His tomb was robbed, every trace of his name and his wife's erased. Nor does her name appear in Tutankhamen's tomb.
 2. Perhaps Aye wanted to be king. It may be that Ankhesenamen knew his plans and felt the Hittites were her only hope to keep him from usurping the throne.
- F. Research can still be done on the murder theory.
1. I hope to examine Tutankhamen's internal organs. Their analysis may reveal a more conclusive answer to the mystery.
 2. A CAT scan of the mummy could be the final word.
 3. Perhaps justice was done after all. Today Tutankhamen is remembered while Aye is forgotten.

Essential Reading:

Bob Brier, *The Murder of Tutankhamen*.

Supplementary Reading:

Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What circumstances surrounding Tutankhamen's death suggest murder?
2. How likely was it that Egypt would accept a Hittite as king of Egypt?

Lecture Twenty-Four

Medicine: The Necessary Art

Scope: In the last lecture, we discussed the theory that Tutankhamen was murdered. An important part of this theory is the state of the art of medicine in ancient Egypt. Here we investigate medicine as practiced 3,000 years ago.

Because medicine was called “the necessary art” by the Egyptians, the physicians of Egypt were famous throughout the ancient world. We will discuss the justification for this fame by examining different medical papyri. We will see that there were really two different approaches to medicine: clinical and magical.

Outline

- I. Who were the physicians and their patrons?
 - A. Temple priests (*wabu*), “the pure ones,” were the major physicians.
 - B. Three gods were considered the patrons of physicians: Sekhmet, Toth, and Isis.
 - C. Sekhmet, the lioness goddess, was closely related to physicians.
 1. An angry Re told Sekhmet to destroy mankind.
 2. After his anger relented, he had trouble stopping her from fulfilling his order.
 3. Finally, he decided to mix red ochre and beer to resemble human blood. Sekhmet drank it, becoming intoxicated and abandoning her destructive mission.
 - D. Toth was the ibis-headed god of magic and writing. (Plato lamented the discovery of writing, preferring the Homeric tradition.)
 1. In one myth, Toth restores Horus’s eye after battle.
 2. Another myth had it that Horus, when still an infant, was killed by a scorpion sting. It was Toth who drew out the poison and saved him.
 3. Called Hermes by the Greeks (thus “hermetic writings”), Toth is the god of medicine
 - E. Isis, goddess of magic and nurturing, was also a patron goddess of physicians.
 1. There are several myths in which she raises the dead. In one, she searches for shelter, accompanied by seven scorpions, to hide from the evil Seth.
 2. After Isis is denied refuge by a woman with a young child, one of the scorpions kills the infant. But Isis takes pity on the woman and revives the child by a laying on of hands.

- F. Physicians did their healing work in temples.
 - 1. Dendera, in the south, was renowned for the healing dreams of sleeping pilgrims. The water was an early example of holy water.
 - 2. Deir el Bahri had a clinic on the roof. Imhotep—physician, architect, and god of healing—presided at this temple, as did Amenhotep, Son-of-Hapu. One theory holds that embalmers were the first with anatomical knowledge.
- G. Embalmers had knowledge of anatomy, but they were considered outcasts and didn't open bodies using large incisions.

II. Medical papyri were numerous and varied.

- A. The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus (1700 BC) is quite clinical.
 - 1. Forty-eight cases of trauma are described from head to toe.
 - 2. Three options, described on papyrus, were open to the physician: (1) treat the illness, (2) contend with the illness, and (3) avoid treating the illness. In this way, the future reputation of the physician was considered.
 - 3. The papyrus describes the brain but not its function. Despite vivid description, not everything is accurate.
 - 4. A clinical approach instructs how to remove bone fragments, splint arms, bandage, and perform other tasks.
 - 5. With these clinical cases one magical treatment is also included. A spell for a fractured frontal bone recommends putting an ostrich eggshell poultice on the forehead, perhaps a kind of sympathetic magic.
- B. The reverse side of the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus is magical.
 - 1. The regular appearance of the plague brought several treatments.
 - 2. Exorcism of demons is described.
 - 3. A plague-bearing wind is described for which burning bed linens is suggested. There is also a magical spell and a recipe for wrinkle cream, "How to transform an old man into a youth." This was the origin of pharmacology.
 - 4. For a crying child, a potion with poppies—what we would call an "active ingredient"—was prescribed.
- C. Papyrus Ebers describes 800 medical situations and treatments.
 - 1. For headaches, an ointment of fish was spread on the head.
 - 2. Blindness—"When the god made me see night during the day"—was considered a religious affliction. Spells were prescribed.
 - 3. For a lame foot, wrapping in deerskin was suggested, perhaps from sympathetic magic.
- D. In conclusion, there were two approaches to illness in ancient Egypt: clinical and magical.

Essential Reading:

John F. Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*.

Supplementary Reading:

Paul Ghaloungu, *The House of Life*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the two different approaches to medicine in ancient Egypt?
2. Who were the physicians?

Classical Egyptian Alphabet

Hieroglyph	Description	Sound
	vulture	a
	foot	b
	placenta	ch
	hand	d
	arm	e
	horned viper	f
	jar stand	g
	twisted flax	h
	reed leaf	i
	snake	j(dj)
	basket	k

Classical Egyptian Alphabet

Hieroglyph	Description	Sound
	owl	m
	water	n
	mat	p
	hill	q
	mouth	r
	folded cloth	s
	pool of water	sh
	loaf of bread	t
	tethering ring	tch
	quail chick	u / w
	two reed leaves	y
	door bolt	z

Timeline

500,000–3200 BC	Prehistoric Period
3100 BC	Narmer and Unification of Egypt
3050–2686 BC	First Two Dynasties
2686–2647 BC	Zoser Builds Step Pyramid
2613–2589 BC	Sneferu Builds First True Pyramid
2589–2566 BC	The Great Pyramid Constructed
2181–2049 BC	First Intermediate Period
2134–1782 BC	The Middle Kingdom
1782–1650 BC	Second Intermediate Period
c. 1570 BC	Hyksos Expelled
1498–1483 BC	Hatshepsut Rules Egypt
1386–1349 BC	Amenhotep III; New Kingdom at Peak
1350–1334 BC	Akhenaten and Amarna Revolution
1334–1325 BC	Tutankhamen's Reign
1279–1212 BC	Ramses the Great
1080–945 BC	Dynasty XXI—Priest Kings
945–715 BC	Libyans Rule Egypt
747–664 BC	Nubians Rule Egypt
664–525 BC	Assyrians Rule Egypt
525–359 BC	Persians Rule Egypt
360–343 BC	Nectanebo II, Last Egyptian Ruler
343–332 BC	Second Persian Period
332 BC	Alexander the Great Conquers Egypt
323–30 BC	Greeks Rule Egypt
30 BC	Death of Cleopatra

COURSE GUIDEBOOK



The History of Ancient Egypt

Part II

- Lecture 13: The Middle Kingdom—Dynasty XII
- Lecture 14: The Second Intermediate Period
- Lecture 15: Joseph in Egypt
- Lecture 16: The Beginning of the New Kingdom—The Fabulous XVIIIth Dynasty
- Lecture 17: Queen Hatshepsut
- Lecture 18: Obelisks
- Lecture 19: Tuthmosis III—King At Last
- Lecture 20: The Fabulous XVIIIth Dynasty Rolls On
- Lecture 21: Akhenaten the Heretic Pharaoh
- Lecture 22: The Discovery of Tutankhamen's Tomb
- Lecture 23: The Murder of Tutankhamen—A Theory
- Lecture 24: Medicine—The Necessary Art

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